

No. 75 Tomo Coffee House Decr. 2nd 1742.

A
LETTER
TO MY
LORD MAYOR
Vindicating the late
INSTRUCTIONS
FROM THE
City of LONDON
For Postponing the
SUBSIDIES
To the Redress of
GRIEVANCES.

WHEREIN

The Right of Instructing MEMBERS
is Illustrated and Asserted; and the Ne-
cessity of such INSTRUCTION at this Time,
more than any since the Revolution, proved
from the Conduct of the New Ministry.

By a CITIZEN of London.

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A

LETTER TO MY LORD MAYOR.

My Lord,

WE have placed you at the Head of us, as Nations do *Governors*, not for your Sake, but our own. You are cloathed, like them, with Ensigns of Dignity, to add Weight to your Authority by the Splendor of your Appearance; and you are invested with Power to enable you the better to guard our Liberties, watch over our Interest, promote our Welfare, distribute Justice, and preserve our Peace. These are the Ends for which the *Magistracy* was first instituted, and afterwards submitted to. Submission to an Individual for any other Purpose, or any other Terms, would be absurd and unnatural. The Oath of Office of all Magistrates, down from the Rulers of the Empire

pire to the lowest, not only expresses the Duty they owe the Publick, but is an incontestible Proof, that the Welfare of the Governed was the sole End for which *Magistracy* was instituted.

In some unhappy Countries, the *legislative*, as well as *executive* Power, is lodged with the *Magistrate*, tho' repugnant to the first Institution of the Office; but, Thanks to our renowned Forefathers, we have never parted with the first, nor with a *Right of Inspection* into the latter. 'Tis our Happiness, 'tis our Glory to be bound by no Laws, but such as we ourselves assent to; and to have a *Right of inspecting* the Conduct of such as are intrusted with the Execution of such Laws. These are the real and only Foundations of our *Freedom*. Whilst we enjoy these *Rights*, we can never be Slaves; nor can we be free, unless we possess them pure, and in the Sense they were transmitted to us by our Ancestors.

But tho' these fundamental *Rights* be indisputably vested in the whole People, yet, for the Sake of Order, they are transmitted by your Constitution, for a limited Time, by the *Many* to a *Few*. Without such a Delegation of Power, it would be impossible to avoid Confusion, the Origine of Anarchy.

Yet how natural and necessary soever it may have been for a People to acquiesce in a temporary Conveyance of these important Rights to a Few of their own Body, it can never be imagined that they intended thereby, to seclude themselves from the Liberty of remonstrating to their Attorneys. It would be absurd to say, that those who are
first

first and principally affected by Grievances, as the People always are, should be debarr'd the Liberty of communicating their Wants, and pointing out the Manner of obtaining what they stood in Need of. It would be unnatural for a Man to delegate his Power so absolutely, as to divest himself of the Privilege of acquainting his Attorney with his Hardship, and shewing the only Method whereby he might be redressed. It can never be supposed, that a People would tie themselves up so as to part with the Power of proclaiming what Ills they may feel, and directing the Manner they would be relieved from such Hardships.

This Right of complaining and pointing out the *Modus* of Redrefs, is a Privilege which the People of this Kingdom have never parted with ; and, I hope, never will. And, should I say, that they never parted with a far more *important* Privilege, tho' the Transmission of their Power to their Representatives be irrevocable *pro tempore*, I don't think I should be chargeable with Error or Misrepresentation : But be that as it may, what is here at present contended for, is no more than the Privilege of remonstrating to our Representatives, and pointing out to them the Manner, the most likely, of obtaining for us what we so remonstrate to stand in Need of. Without such a Privilege our Liberties and Properties can never be secure.

The Exercise of this valuable Privilege, is what I understand by instructing Members of Parliament. I believe it is what is generally, and I am sure was particularly understood by the Council of the great

great City your Lordship presides over, when they lately voted *Instructions* to their Representatives in Parliament.

But however just and constitutional such Instructions are at all Times, and how necessary soever the late *Instructions* to the City Members were, there are Wretches among us that dare impeach, not only the Necessity, but even the Propriety of them. Amongst the many *courtly, venal Scribes* that have attacked us on this Occasion, there is * one whom I chuse for my present Antagonist, because he is most applauded by the C—t Sycophants.

This prostituted *Levite*, masked here under the Appellation of a *Country Gentleman*, was the Drudge of the late *Minister*, is so to his Successors, and, very probably, would be the trumpeting Tool of any Administration that should feed his Avarice. He is known for being as assiduous in weakening the Props of our civil Rights, as in sapping the Foundation of the Church he has sworn to believe in, and to maintain to the utmost of his Power. But what Contradictions may we not expect from a Man that travels to R—e to undermine the C—h of *England*; and who, to line his Pockets, compares W—l—e to Tully?

Though our Reverend Traducer be the most important Writer that has appeared against the City of *London*, yet is he not, by far, of so great Eminency as some who have had it under Consideration,

* The Author of *Seasonable Expostulations with the worthy Citizens of London upon their late Instructions to their Representatives, &c.*

tion, how a loyal Community might be punished for asserting a Right which they never did, nor can part with: But as I don't think myself at Liberty, perhaps because I don't think it safe to enter the Lists with Persons so much above the common Level, I shall content myself, for the present, with dissecting their libelling Pensioner.

Behold, my Lord, how this daring Author, Page 25 and 26, not only threatens the most useful, loyal and opulent Community in the Nation, perhaps in the World? ' For though want of Regard and Decency to the Government, should not provoke its just Resentment to withdraw from you any of the Favours you enjoy, how unbecoming the Gravity and Importance of the great and opulent City of *London* it is to be governed like a little distant Borough Town, by the seditious Rhetorick of a few heated Imaginations among you! ' — The late Minister himself, who was known to be no Friend to the City, never expressed himself more contumeliously or injuriously: For here are the most dutiful of his Majesty's Subjects charged with want of *Regard and Decency to the Government*: Here are they charged with being biased by the *seditious Rhetorick of a few*; and here are the Citizens in the World, whose *Privileges* are best secured by Laws, threatened to be stript of them for having provoked the just *Resentment of the Government*. And why this injurious Insult? Why are this great and wise Community thus threatened and libelled, for having exercised a *Right* secured to them by the Constitution? that is, for having instructed their Representatives to take the only Method which ministerial Craft and Corruption have left us, of ob-

obtaining a Redress of the intolerable Grievances under which we groan.

I am not surprized that *Ministers*, who have lost the Hearts of the People, should be Enemies to all Instructions that proclaim their Perfidy; but I wonder they would openly countenance a fycophant Writer, that dares insult so important a Body of People as the *Citizens of London*, for having done but their Duty in asserting their *Rights*. To support any thing of this kind, is as impolitick in this Administration, as it was in the late, to bestow injurious *Epithets* upon the most useful Body of People in the Nation.

But this supported *Scribe*, who only echoes to the Publick what had been before spoken at a certain eminent B——d, goes on in the next Page 27. to charge your Lordship, your Brethren the Aldermen, and the whole Corps of Citizens, with being *Fomenters and Incendaries*. ‘ While I was going on, says he, to exhort you (the City Council and Citizens) to reflect upon the ill Example you set to others by your unseasonable Instructions to your Representatives, I received much such another Paper as yours is, addressed to the Members for Westminster, &c.’

I shall have Occasion hereafter to observe upon the *Seasonableness* of our late Instructions; but, before I part with my Reverend Courtier’s last Words, your Lordship may be pleased to see the great Difference he pays you and the Citizens under your Charge, by what he says of the *Westminster Instructions*, a Paper, which he asserts to be much such a one as ours from London. After he has

has treated the Instructions of our Sister City, as an *insolent and impudent Paper*, he goes on, Page 31. ‘ This is treating it with too much Tenderness. It contains the greatest Insults upon the Government that perhaps ever passed unpunished ; the Legislature is menaced with an Appeal to the People, and threatened with popular Contention in Case such Things as this wise Assembly, &c. judge necessary, are not immediately done.’ — I need not put one of your Lordship’s Segacity in mind that this *courtly* Compliment is obliquely made to the City of London, the Fact being too plain to escape your Notice ; but it may not be equally unnecessary to remind you, that the Author who makes it, is cherished both by the present and late *Ministers*, and paid and supported out of the publick Treasure.

But what immediately follows the above Quotation, Page 32, being peculiarly singular, I shall beg Leave to insert it at length. ‘ If I am not mistaken, it is prosecutable at Law ; to which I shall leave it and its Authors, after I have said, that if they pursue its Rigour, it will not be owing more to the long enduring Lenity of the Government, than their own *low and contemptible Characters.*’ This Paragraph clears up visibly what I only hinted at above relating to the Deliberations at a certain B——d, as famed for Lenity as Wisdom.

But to return to our insulting *Lévite*. What Englishman can bear to see his Countrymen thus threaten’d, thus traduced and scandalized for asserting a constitutional *Right*, when the Assertion of it

was, perhaps, never more necessary? If this injurious Treatment had been relative to the Inhabitants of *Westminster* only, it would be sufficient to inflame every honest Breast; but when we see the poison'd Invectives pointed alike at the Citizens of *London*, it becomes a Necessity, I may say a Duty incumbent upon every Welwisher to this City, to justify its Conduct, and retort the Injury and Affront. My Lord, it was this Necessity, this Duty which I think myself obliged to as a Citizen of *London*, that induced me to affix your Name to a *Vindication* of the late Conduct of those who had elected you to the most honourable Chair in the Kingdom. I may say it is a *Vindication* of your Lordship's own Conduct, since you assented to the *Instructions* which have raised up the whole *Posses* of Placemen and Pensioners against the City.—Here I can't forbear congratulating your Lordship and all my Fellow Citizens on the Happiness of being in Disfavour with the open and avowed Enemies of our Country. When Dishonour retorts from being in the good Graces of bad Men, it may be accounted a Blessing to be upon bad Terms with them and their Satilites. But how honourable soever it may be for the City of *London* to be above fawning upon such Men, it may be said, that it is no Argument of their Policy to be at Enmity with a City, whose Enemies have never long maintained their Authority.

Our *expostulating* Author sets out with tacitly denying the *Right* of the *Constituents* to instructing at all; but if, out of his abundant Goodness he deigns not to call this *Right* in Question now, it is because he thinks the Exercise of it, at this Time, unseasonable and unnecessary. If our Representatives

presentatives are never to be instructed till this Scribbler and his Paymasters shall think it *seasonable* and *necessary*, I will answer for them they will never be instructed to the *Greek Kalends*, unless it be by such *purchased Instructions* as we have seen of late steal into the World in that Vehicle, the *Gazetteer*, from *B—l, N—g—m, and W—ces—r.*—But to return to our Courtly Author, who, poor Man, drudges hard for a Mitre: And why may he not hope to rise to one as well as some *others* that have not been more stocked with *Religion or Honesty*; and have had no other Merit than boldly to traduce the Virtuous and extol the Wicked; or, in other Words, to support a Ministry, and vilify Patriots. ‘Your Right, says he, Page 5, to instruct your Representatives, I do not now call in Question; but you will give me leave to remind you, that it has not been usual to exercise that Right, but in Times when the *publick Interest has been manifestly neglected, or our Liberties and Properties at least secretly, if not openly invaded.*’—It seems then, our Reverend Scribbler has been at this Work before, since he but reminds us now of what he had told us heretofore. I wish he had pointed out the particular *Gazetteer*, or other Courtly Paper, wherein he had pointed out their Duty to the Citizens of *London*, that I might acknowledge the Honour he was pleased to do them.

Here, he says, *The publick Interest must be manifestly neglected before the Right of instructing be exercised.* The Right of instructing being indisputably in the Constituents, there is no Reason that it should be circumscribed. If they have a *Right to instruct*, they certainly have a *Right to exercise*

that Right when, and as often as they think fit: But as People seldom give themselves Trouble unnecessarily, it has not been known that the Electors of this Kingdom have been at the Pains of instructing their Representatives, but when there was absolute Necessity: And for this Reason, if we had not a thousand other convincing Proofs, one may be sure that the publick Interest is manifestly neglected at this Time, since every Corner of the Kingdom echos Instructions. But should this shrewd Monitor be asked, *What Interest is taken care of, except that of the Court and Ministry?* I fancy he would be most intolerably puzzled. He may shew us, indeed, that the Interest of the dear Electorate has not been neglected; nor that of its cherished Inhabitants, whether at home or abroad; in Britain or the Netherlands. He may tell us, That it has not been neglected to court and fawn upon all the Courts of Europe in their Turns; and to sacrifice the Interest of these Nations, in order to promote that of Mother-Land. He may tell us also, That all Ministers since the A——n have not neglected the making their Court at the Expence of their own Country, by chiming in with the predominant Passion of certain great Personages: And he may assure us, That our present Ministers are not less assiduous than their Predecessors, to acquire the good Graces of their royal M—r; nor less industrious to fill their own Pockets, and empty those of the Publick.

But can he, my Lord, or dare he say, That the Interest of the People is not, and has not been constantly neglected for almost the Third Part of a Century? Is it not a manifest Neglect of their Interest, to continue their Debts and Taxes during

a long Interval of Tranquility, when all the other Nations of *Europe* have been assiduously exonerating themselves from the Weight of the late general War? Are not the late accumulated Restraints upon Trade, and the countenanceing, or at least the not prohibiting effectually the Exportation of our *Wool* to *France*, visible Neglects of the Interest of the Publick? Are not the Millions expended in Subsidies and the Pay of foreign Troops for no other End or Purpose but to cover and guard *H——r*, and preserve her new Acquisitions, so many positive Proofs that the Interest of these Nations has been shamefully neglected? Did I set down minutely every Proof that could be produced of the publick Interest's being neglected, I should swell this Address to your Lordship to a Volume instead of a Letter. But as the whole People, Placemen and Pensioners excepted, unanimously agree, that their Interest is, and long has been notoriously neglected, it may be said sacrificed, I think there cannot be a stronger presumptive Proof at least, that Instructions were never more necessary or seasonable.

Your Lordship will observe the further Condescension of our scribbling *Country Gentleman*, as he calls himself. He might, with much greater Propriety, have called himself the *C——b——e L——b——n*, or the *Walpolean Panegyrist*. When the publick Interest is neglected, which, by the Bye, our Author will never admit to happen whilst he is in Pay, nor his Paymasters, whilst they are in Power: When, says he, such Neglect happens, you may, (the Citizens) exercise your Right of instructing; or, when our Liberties and Properties are secretly at least, if not openly invaded.

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When the *Liberties* and *Properties* of a Nation are openly invaded, 'tis past all Instruction. When the Nail of Tyranny is drove that Length, there are few Nations would not think it necessary to have Recourse to other Expedients : But 'tis when a People are jealous, and believe they have Cause for being so, that secret Attempts have been made to restrain their Freedom, that they have Recourse to *Instruction*. They take this first Step towards the Redress of their Grievances before ever they resolve to use less gentle Methods ; and it has been found, by Experience, that it has not been safe for Ministers to force the People upon Methods of Roughness—— Well, but let us examine how the Case stands at present.

The People are certainly jealous that their *Liberties* and *Properties* are secretly invaded, and have instructed their Representatives to guard against the secret Stabs of their Enemies. That they are right in taking this Precaution when they see Danger, this very *Scribbler* does not deny. ‘But, says he, you People all, and you Citizens of London in particular, take the Alarm without Cause ; you are jealous without Reason ; and there is not the least colourable Reason for your instructing in our halcion Days.’ If these are not his express Words, they certainly contain his Meaning, as I shall shew when I come to his next Paragraph ; but at present let us see whether there are any Grounds for the present Jealousy of the People concerning their Liberties.

Though it should seem unnecessary for a Man to prove the Cause for *Discontent* when it becomes ge-

general, because the Generality of *Discontent* is a manifest Proof of its being well founded; yet, to indulge the sickly Appetites of our squeamish Pensioners and Placemen, I will be at the Pains of assigning some few of the Reasons which induce the People to dread that there are *secret Designus* at least, upon their *Liberties*: As for their *Properties*, they have been made free with pretty openly for above half an Age.

The People then apprehend, that a *standing Army*, which has been annually increased since 1714, upon some frivolous Pretence or other, does not bode an Increase of their *Liberties*. These very People are not a little alarmed, that an Army of *Hanoverians* has been brought so near them as *Flanders*; and are not more sensible of being saddled with the Burden of the Pay of these *foreign Troops*, than they are anxious that they might be subservient to the wicked and ambitious Views of evil Ministers. The People are jealous of their *Liberties*, when, in the late and present Reign, they saw *penal Laws* multiplied every Sessions; and they are much more so, since they see the very Persons oppose the Repeal of such coercive Laws, that had, not long since, inveighed most against them. The People, from the dire Experience of the wicked Effects of *Corruption*, have ardently wished for the Security of full and ample Laws to prevent its eating into the Root of their *Liberties*; but not being able to obtain such *Security*, and being deceived by those they relied upon most, they are become suspicious, that, from *secret Attempts* upon their *Freedom*, Ministers will soon be powerful enough to attack them *openly* without Compliment or Disguise. The People thought it a violent

Attack upon their *Liberties* when their *Attornies* prolonged the Term for which they had chosen them ; nor do they think the Continuance of the Prolongation a less dangerous Attempt upon their *Freedom*. Could I doubt that your Lordship, or any other unbiass'd Man in the Nation, would hesitate a Moment to conclude, that the People have abundant Reason for being jealous of Attempts upon their *Liberties*, I should examine the national Grievances more minutely and distinctly ; but when a Point is self-evident, all Proof and Argument are needless.

But by this very Author's own Confession, the Rectitude of the People's Jealousy at present is admitted; unless he can shew that their Condition is mehded since the late *Minister* has thought proper to become a *Prompter* instead of an *Actor*.
 I thought, says he, in the same Page 5, that we were so much in Danger of both (that is, to have our *Interest* neglected and our *Liberties* and *Properties* invaded) under the late *Administration*, that I was glad to see this Spirit (of instructing) spread itself thro' many Parts of the Kingdom : The Ability and Integrity of our Representatives produced what you and I (hypocritical *V*—*n*!) and all honest Men desired, the displacing of that *Minister*, whose ill Conduct raised that Spirit, and justified those *Instructions*.—Here is a large Field for expatiating on the *Integrity* of Men that were raised upon the Shoulders of the People to pull down that bad *Minister* whom they have strip't of his Employments, to deck out themselves in his Plumes. But all their Actions, since they have been in Power, make it unnecessary here to trouble your Lordship or the Publick with their Characters or Views.

It being granted by our *Levite*, that the People were right in instructing their Representatives during the late Administration, and having denied that there remains any Cause for Instruction at present, it was natural, nay it was necessary for him to shew how and wherein the present *Administration* differs from the late. But he attempts nothing of this Kind, contenting himself with barely saying, *That some of our Representatives know there is no Occasion now for Instructions*—But of this more presently.

Since then our Author has not vouchsafed to assign any Reason why the People should think better of the present *Ministers* than of the late *Minister*, I shall beg Leave to put him a few Interrogatories, which he is required to answer in his next *Expostulations with the Citizens of London*. Have any of the coercive Laws, made in the late Administration, or before, since the Accession, been repealed in the present? have any new Securities been obtained for our Liberties? Have we not been taxed more heavily the last Year than ever before? And are not our Debts encreased, tho' there was more Money granted last Year than any since the Conquest? What is become of our War with Spain? and has it not been more neglected the last Year than even when he presided, who was always supposed to be against the War? Is the Septennial Act repealed? Where are the boasting Promises of the *new Ministers* whilst they were out of Power, and Opponents to the late *Minister*? Have they not openly opposed, or obliquely obstructed every Motion for securing or enlarging Liberty, since they have tasted of the Sweets of

Court Smiles and Favours? — But don't I mispend your Lordship's Time and my own in being at any Pains to shew that the same Reasons, and stronger, subsist now, than did, during the late Administration, for instructing Members of Parliament. We feel every Grievance, every Ill complained of since the A——n ; we are eased of no Burden, no Fears, since the Abdication of the late Minister ; but, on the contrary, our Load is increased, and our Fears augmented, because the Number of our secret and open Enemies is increased, and that of our real Friends decreased.

To so melancholly a Situation as the late Defection of our pretended Friends had reduced us, what was, to be done ? How should we have behaved at the Opening of a new Parliament ? We had no Choice but to complain and remonstrate for Redress, or to be silent and suffer Nature, who is always right in her Operations, directed our Choice ; and we instructed those whom we had a Right to inform of our Grievances and of our Intentions. All this was natural, it was uniform and constitutional ; yet here is a busy Priest, the scribbling Tool of a C—t, who presumes, Page 6, to call our Instructions, *An unseasonable, inflammatory Representation.* Instructions to Representatives are *seasonable* at the Opening of a new Parliament or never ; and they can never be more so than when a Nation are oppressed with Taxes, and legal and ministerial *Restraints*, beyond their Strength. This being our Condition when the City of London lately instructed their Members, how comes it that they are taxed with having instructed *unseasonably*? Ay, but adds our drudging Levite, ‘ If you won't allow your Instructions to be

‘ be unseasonable, you can’t deny but they are inflammatory’. We would have them so, but not in your jaundiced Sense. We wish they would inflame the Breasts of all our Representatives with Integrity, Disinterestedness, and Patriotism; and we wish it would inflame the Hearts of the whole People with Virtue enough to despise Corrupters and Hypocrites, and bear up with true British Zeal against the present Torrent of C——t Corruption. But we deny that we had any View of inflaming the People, as he seems to suggest, to Disaffection or Undutifulness to the Crown. It would look as if the ebbing Sand of our Freedom was at the last, when Men can’t complain of their Woes, and point out the Cure, but they are represented as inflaming Fomenters and Incendaries. This Charge of Inflammatory puts me in Mind of what the French call, *Querelle d’Almagne*, in English, a German Quarrel. This is the French Expression for a Quarrel forced by a brutal, designing Fellow, on a peaceable innocent Man.

We have observed that our *Courtier* admits of the Seasonableness, and even the Necessity of Instructions during the late Administration; but now the Scene is changed, for, with him, our present *Ministers* are such Babes of Grace, such Angels of Light, that it is almost Rebellion to instruct. ‘ But surely, Gentlemen, says he, Page 6, many of you, and some of your Representatives know, that there is no Occasion now for Remonstrances.’ ——But why not now, *Doctor*, as much as in the late Administration? Are not the same *Measures* pursued? Don’t we feel the same Hardships? Is our Condition, in any Sense or Shape, mended since your new Masters and our

false Friends, have been raised from private Life to guide the Chariot of the State? You forgot this Portraiture of our *Condition* and the new *Ministry*, as etched out in the Instructions you condemn. *Our Wealth has been exhausted, our Trade neglected, our Honour prostituted, and the Independency of Parliament invaded.*—This was our Condition when the late *Minister* laid down; Doctor, can you deny it; or have you borrowed *Corintbian Metal* enough of your late *Patron* to deny that it is now rather worse than better?—Our new Task-Masters are pictured thus; ‘ How great was our Surprize to find that some of those, who, under a Mask of *Integrity*, and by feigning a Zeal for their Country, had long acquired the largest Share of its Confidence, should, without the least Hesitation or seeming Remorse, greedily embrace the first Occasion to disgrace all their former Conduct, and in Defiance of the most solemn *Protestations*, openly conspire with the known *Enemies* of the Publick, to defraud the Nation of that Justice and Security which they themselves had so often and so peremptorily declared was indispensibly necessary to its Preservation and Support.’—Surely, if this Sycophant had observed this Description of our *Condition*, and new *Drivers*, and paid any Regard to *Truth*, he had not ventured to tell us, *That many of us, and some of our Representatives know, that there is no Occasion now for such Remonstrances.*

I can bear the Sneer upon us Citizens in the general because a Multitude is scarce vulnerable; but can’t so readily put up an Affront levelled at our Representatives, because they are but a few.

‘ Many

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Many of you, says the Expostulator, and some
of your Representatives know, that there is no
Occasion now for such Remonstrances.—I can
answer for myself, and dare do so for the Genera-
lity of my fellow Citizens and fellow Subjects, that
we think Remonstrances as necessary as ever; but
if any of our Representatives has suffered himself
to be reasoned into *Lukewarmness* or *Insensibility*, I
can't answer but he may know or feel that there is
no Occasion now for Instructions. This Age and
Nation have been of late wonderfully productive of
monstrous and unnatural Productions; why then
may not a Representative of the City of *London*,
as well as one of his *Sister City*, and one of the City
of *Worcester*, know Things by the Sense of *feeling*,
without being at the Pains of seeing or hearing? A
long Course of Integrity is now, it seems, no Secu-
rity against Temptation. But if Men will listen to
Tempters, and not close the *Fist*, and put away
the offering *Hand* with Contempt, won't it, nay,
mayn't it be said, that they had been *virtuous* only
because they had not been tempted.

I confess myself at a Loss how to treat this
Part of my Subject; and, particularly, how to
conduct my Observations on the following Part of
the same Paragraph, Page 6: ‘I dare answer,
that one of your Representatives at least, whose
Zeal for the Welfare of the City, and for the
Good of his Country in general, you cannot doubt
(I wish we had no Room lately for doubting) and
whose Penetration and Abilities make all Instruc-
tions to him unnecessary, is thoroughly persua-
ded, that we have changed Measures as well as
Ministers.

I repeat my Anxiety for being under a Necessity of not passing over in Silence Lines so very important and interesting. I can see the Delicacy, and even the Danger of saying too much; and should be sorry, where I intend the publick Welfare, to say too little. I may fear more than I need do; and, in overlooking a Man's Words and Actions in the Gross, it may be an Encouragement to others to warp. Let me then only say, that none of our Representatives are above being instructed, let his Abilities and Penetration be ever so great; and that, he who should contemn the Instructions of his Constituents, and so over-rate his own Endowments, or past Conduct, as to set himself above his Principals, is, in my Opinion, the very Man who stands most in need of being instructed. The Modest and Virtuous seldom want Instruction; but are always willing and pleased to receive it. But on the contrary, the Self-sufficient and Arrogant are peevish and froward at being set right, tho' often in Error. But it is observable, that none bear Advice or Instruction more impatiently than those, who, from travelling in good Company, and in a smooth clean Path, have been inveigled to associate with Parricides and Hypocrites, and to trudge along with them in the dirty Road of a C—t.

If any such infatuated Person is to be found amongst our Representatives, it is no wonder that he should be thoroughly persuaded, that we have changed Measures as well as Ministers. Conviction, now-a-days, is, it seems, become quite another thing than it was with our Ancestors. They were plain honest Men, that were *persuaded* from the Evi-

Evidence of all their Senses collectively ; but now a Man is *persuaded* that consults no Sense but his *Feeling*. Whether or no this be the Case of the Gentleman meant here ; or whether or no he is really *persuaded* that we have changed *Measures* since the Abdication of the late Minister, I cannot say, but am sincerely sorry that one who had, for three times seven Years, behaved with the greatest Honour and Reputation, should of late observe a Conduct that casts a Shade at least on all the Glory of his past Life. I will hope that the *Mistakes* (let me call them so) imputed to this Gentleman of late, are owing to Avocation, to private Affairs, Age, Indisposition, or any thing rather than to more ignoble Motives. But Men should consider, at least, those who ambition to be rank'd amongst staunch Patriots, that they should be as delicate as Women in giving Cause for Suspicion. The Great *Julius* repudiated his Wife for not observing a Conduct so strict as should silence Defamation, and put the Lewd and Lascivious to the Blush. It is still a Doubt whether *Cæsar's* Wound was not deeper than he would have it thought ; but I hope it is none, that *Corruption* has not crept within *Ludgate*, and that there is not *one* of our Representatives, but will act as if he was conscious that *Measures are not charged with Ministers*.

A Representation from so great and oppulent a City as *London*, should have far greater Weight than one from a poor distant Borough ; and tho' a Member, once Elected, becomes a Representative of the whole People : And even supposing that Instructions are not binding upon a Representative, which is a Point not given up by many good

good Subjects ; yet, I say, the World would very justly become jealous and suspicious of the Virtue and Stediness of any *Member* for so great a Metropolis as *London*, that should the very first Day of the Sitting of Parliament, *Speak* and *Vote* directly repugnant to the *Sense*, and even the very Letter of the *Instructions* of his *Constituents*. The only Excuse that can possibly be made for so contradictory a Conduct is, that he acted according to the Lights of his Reason, and best of his Judgment. Granted ; but, at the same Time, we may be allowed to say, that he acted in Contradiction to his *Experience*, which is certainly no bad Guide ; perhaps the safest a Man can follow. This *Experience* might convince him, or any other Gentleman, that all *Courts*, all *Ministries*, particularly ours, never think of redressing Grievances ; and never agree to a Redress of any but by *Compulsion* : And that this Compulsion can be no other than detaining the *Supplies* till the Subjects obtain what the Court would willingly never part with. Should it be said, that the Distractions of *Germany* required Dispatch of the *Supplies*, it may be answered, That Distractions and Fears at home were not to be neglected ; and that *Redress* and *Supplies* might go Hand in Hand, and be dispatched together. What should hinder a Clause for the Repeal of the *Septennial Act* to be inserted in the Malt-tax Bill ? Or a good Place Bill to be tacked to the Land-Tax Bill ? But might not separete Bills for the desired *Redress* be prepared, and passed as expeditiously as other Bills of far less Importance to the Publick ? We have known of a * Bill, since the Revolution, never thought of till the Day before it was brought into the House

* An Act for confining the late Duke of Hamilton.

House of Commons, passed that and the Lords too ; and had the Royal Assent, all in one Day's Time. It is when only a Court is unwilling to do Justice to the People, that Bills for their Security go heavily thro' the Houses.—But let me quit so ungrateful a Subject as treating of Suspicions of the Insincerity of *One* whom I and all my Fellow Citizens esteemed for his Probity and Segacity. If he erred, 'tis to be hoped he has seen his Error, and will reform : But if he chuses rather to bow to *Baal* than support the glorious Character he had acquired and deserved, let us drop him, and say, that the Prejudice of an *early Education* is scarce ever to be conquered. Where deep *Dissimulation* is imbibed as a *first Principle*, it is not easily eradicated.—I have neglected our expostulating *Levite* a great while : We will return to him.

This *Monitor*, in his trite Arguments in Defence of the new Ministry for not punishing the great *Delinquent*, puts us silly Citizens these wise Interrogatories, Page 16 and 17.— I own I am satisfied ; for, pray what Good will his Punishment do me now ? Will it reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*, and secure the *Austrian* Interest in *Germany* ? Will it add one Friend more to the Government of this Country in the present Royal Family ? &c. — From this very extraordinary Defence in Favour of Court and Ministerial *Lenity* to the late *Minister*, it may be perceived, that the very first Lines of our City Representation were frivolous and unnecessary. How could we say, ‘ In the present unhappy Conjuncture, when the domestick Enemies of these Kingdoms are flattering themselves, that, by the late astonishing

‘ Example of unpunished Treachery and Corruption, the Nation must be driven to Despair, and abandon all Thoughts of any future Efforts for the Support and Security of the publick Liberty.’ We, &c. I say, if there be any Weight in this Court Levite’s Arguments, this Exordium of our Representation was a mere Banter upon our Representatives and the Nation. What! to say, That the Nation must be driven to Despair by the late astonishing Example of unpunished Treachery and Corruption; when the Court asserts, That the Punishment of the late treacherous and corrupt Minister will not reduce France, nor add one more Friend to the Government! Strange Arrogance in the Inhabitants of a Metropolis to contradict a venal, dirty, little Court Scribbler.

But, my Lord, this Letter having already swell’d far beyond the Compass I at first intended it should, I find myself obliged to postpone, at present, my further Animadversions on this daring Insulter of the Citizens of London. Our Fears, my good Lord, were just, when we instructed our Members; and what has happened since the Beginning of the Session of P——t, is a Confirmation of the Rectitude of our Conduct. But, alas! what signify Instructions, when a Ministry, deaf to the Cries of a bleeding People, interpose with Places, Pensions, Titles and Promises? What can we hope for from a Ministry determined to fix their own Power by extending that of their M—r, and by sacrificing the Interest of Britain to a prejudiced Passion for a foreign Concern?

I wish the Time for insisting on a Redress of our Grievances may not be elapsed; but, as much may

may be still obtained, if People are willing and steady, I shall conclude with these significant Words of our *Instructions*; ‘ We therefore most earnestly intreat, that, at this important Crisis, you will not suffer yourselves to be amused with distant Objects, which, of late, have been so speciously dressed up with all Arts of Fallacy and Delusion; but whatever Plea may be offered in Behalf of our Safety Abroad, be persuaded, that Security at Home is the first Point which merits your Consideration; that the gratifying the reasonable Desires of the People, who ask no more than Justice, and the Re-establishment of the British Constitution, can alone give Weight and Success to his Majesty’s Councils and Measures; can alone recover the lost Confidence of our ancient Allies, and strike Terror into our most powerful Enemies, &c.

I am, &c.

F I N I S.

Yt shall y^r. Hord endure and dare not break
ynto their imaginary chain. — { Preses

[72]

his will be well if I do him all
and send over the sum of £100.
Remember, a few days ago he
sent me some old coins which
he had found or collected, and I
will forward them to you as soon
as possible. I have also sent
you a copy of the Royal
Society's paper, the
Royal Society's
Transactions, Vol. LXXXI, No. 1,
which you may find
of interest.



23. May

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